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INTRODUCTION

By Sir Denison Ross

Over three-quarters of a century ago Marie-Félicité Brosset published a monumental work on Georgia entitled *L'Histoire de la Géorgie*. It has never been either re-edited or superseded. It is difficult to borrow and almost impossible to buy. Nearly everything of importance on Georgia that has since been written is in Russian or in Georgian, and mostly buried in learned periodicals. Except for the beautiful translations of Georgian mediæval literature made by the Wardrops, Georgian studies in general have been almost entirely neglected in Europe, although Armenian history and literature—so closely interwoven with that of Georgia—has attracted much attention, including that of a certain number of English scholars. The number of Georgian grammars and dictionaries in any European language is very small, and in English we have none at all.

The last century has produced many notable Georgian scholars, the best known of whom is Prof. Marr, and it is only natural that—Georgia being a part of the Russian Empire—native scholars should have employed Russian for their scientific writings. But what they have written in Russian has not reached a very much wider public than if it had been written in Georgian. Mr. Allen has now made accessible to the English reader the main results of the researches of these scholars, and we may at last learn all about this romantic Christian country in Asia, without the trouble of plodding through the rare and ponderous tomes of Brosset or of learning Russian.

Though still a very young man, Mr. Allen has found time in a singularly varied career—including two years in the House of Commons—to travel extensively in Georgia and to make himself master of the Russian language. The amount of reading that he has done by way of preparation for the present work is self-evident, and I imagine hardly any work or article of importance has escaped his notice. Beyond this, however, Mr. Allen has formed many close friendships among the

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Georgian *intelligentsia*, who have been only too ready to lend their expert aid to one who has shown so real an affection for their country.

The ground Mr. Allen has covered in this work is so extensive that matters of interest will be found in it for many besides the student of history: for he has illuminating chapters on the social organization of Mediæval Georgia—a subject hitherto quite inaccessible to the comparative sociologist in Europe; on the customs and habits of the Georgians between the ninth and the eighteenth centuries; on their trade relations with neighbouring countries; and on Georgian mediæval art in which he indicates the interplay of Armenian, Byzantine, and Russian influences.

The historical chapters cover a long period of time: beginning with the rich copper and Early Iron Age cultures of the Caucasus, he passes to the history of the Georgian Kingdom which emerged as an important political entity at the beginning of the tenth century. It is all new history, and very fascinating reading it makes. The Georgian Kingdom of the eleventh–thirteenth centuries emerges as a cultural fact as important in the history of the Middle Ages as the Kingdom of Sicily to which Mr. Allen compares it. We see in the Georgian Bagratids a ruling family as influential in the history of Western Asia as the Angevins were in the Mediterranean, and in the great figure of David the Restorer we see a figure of the type of the early Norman kings. Mr. Allen describes in vivid language the glories of the "Caucasian Kingdom" of Queen Tamara (until now hardly more than a legendary figure to European historians), and the long tragedy of the decline of the Georgian Kingdom during the century of Mongol hegemony.

The succeeding chapters in which Mr. Allen unravels the intricate history of the three contending Georgian Kingdoms during the fifteenth–eighteenth centuries are not only novel and valuable in themselves, but they throw a new light on many aspects of Russian, Persian and Turkish history. The great merit of Mr. Allen as an historian is that he keeps his subject in perspective, and he shows an amazing insight into the contemporary history of neighbouring states.

These historical chapters form the main body of Mr. Allen's book and to none will they be more welcome than to the student of Islamic history, especially in connection with the minor dynasties which ruled in North-Western Persia during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Particularly interesting

[Ancient Georgia]

CHAPTER XIX

FROM THE CLAN TO THE CLASS

● 114 STRABO was the first foreign writer who attempted to describe the social system of Georgia. His reference to the way of life in Georgia in his time is very brief indeed—only fourteen lines in all. But it is precious in that it lends support to the native sources embodied in *Kartlis Tzkhovreba*, which thus secure confirmation for the first time from foreign sources.

621 The references in the Georgian sources and the study of Georgian social terminology indicate that life in ancient Georgia was based on the communal or *sagwareulo* system. The word *sagwareulo* is derived from *gwari*, and denotes "that which is of *gwari*". *Gwari* was made up of an aggregate of families having common descent and forming a community of its own; it was called also *sakhli*.[1] The conception of a collective unit of the inhabitants born of the same stock was denoted by the word *tomi*. Each *tomi* was divided into a number of *temni*, and each *temi* into *gwarni* or *sakhlni*.

622 The holdings of a *gwari* constituted *sagwareulo*. Each *sagwareulo* was administered by a *mamasakhlisi* or "father of the house"; in other words, by the oldest member of *gwari* or *sakhli*.

Gwarni naturally differed in size and wealth. A *gwari* with a great number of members wielded greater power and influence over other *gwarni*. The *mamasakhlisi* of such a *gwari* became at the same time the *mamasakhlisi* of the *temi* —*temis-mamasakhlisi*. In like manner the most influential among the *temis-mamasakhlisni* became the *mamasakhlisi* of the *tomi* (*tomis-mamasakhlisi*). The *tomis-mamasakhlisi* was thus an *over-mamasakhlisi*, or an over-lord of all other *mamasakhlisni* —whether of *temi* or *gwari*. He was called *meupé-mamasakhlisi*.

The *meupé-mamasakhlisi* retained of course as his direct appanage the chieftainship of his *temi* and the *mamasakhlisate* of his *sagwareulo*. At the same time the dignity and importance of his own *gwari* was enhanced and it

[1] The present-day common meaning of *gwari* is surname, and of *sakhli*, house.

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Chapter XIII

Note H.—On the Persian Succession in 1576[1]

In the account of the intrigues for the Persian Succession which followed the death of Shah Tahmasp in May 1576 I have adhered to the authority of Wakhushti who is, in general, confirmed by other Georgian sources. Although the Georgian sources throw a new light on that confused moment of Persian history, there are certain discrepancies, when comparison is made with Persian and Turkish sources, which are difficult to clarify.

The Turkish sources used by von Hammer and the Persian sources referred to by Malcolm and later historians, including Browne, make it clear that, at the date of Tahmasp's death, the two factions contending for power were a Georgian faction allied with the chief of the Ustajlu (Kizilbash) Turkomans and a "Cherkess" faction which was supported by the Afshar and others of the Kizilbash tribes. Wakhushti states categorically that Muhammad Khuda-banda was the son of Tahmasp by Shaliqashvili's daughter (cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 217, and note 2; *ibid.*, II, i, 35, and *Suite des Annales*, II, i, 362). Tahmasp married the Meskhian princess in 1548, so that Muhammad Khuda-banda could not have been more than 28 when his father died. On the other hand, Turkish and Persian sources agree that he was the eldest son of Tahmasp, and that he was about 43 at the time of Tahmasp's death (cf. also *Venetians in Persia, Narrative of Vincentio d'Alessandri*, p. 214). A second son, Ismail, according to Vincentio, was two years younger, and a third son, Haydar, the victim of the first palace-revolution, was only eighteen.

Wakhushti ignores the existence of Haydar, allows the prior succession of Ismail, and finally brings in Khuda-banda, whom he does not claim to have been the eldest son.

I think that the varying statements may be reconciled as follows:

(1) Shaliqashvili's daughter married Shah Tahmasp in 1548, and retained a great influence with him, as is exemplified by the Persian support for her relatives in Samtzkhé (Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 218 *et seq.*).

(2) She was the mother, not of Khuda-banda, but of Haydar, who, if he were eighteen in 1576, was born in 1558, ten years after the marriage. The existence of Haydar is ignored by Wakhushti, who, however, emphasizes the continuing influence of the dowager at court during the reign of Khuda-banda. Von Hammer, following the Turkish historian, Ali, indicates that Haydar was protected by two Georgian uncles, Ali and Sal (Zaal). Haydar had another brother, Bahram, and two half-brothers, Mustafa and Imam-Quli, sons of Tahmasp by "a Georgian slave" (von Hammer, VII, 72–4). Don Juan says that Mustafa's mother was "a Christian princess from Georgia" (*Don Juan*, p. 129).

(3) Whether Tahmasp died, as is indicated by Don Juan and Wakhushti,

[1] I dealt curorily with this question in my "Notes on Don Juan of Persia's Account of Georgia" in *B.S.O.S.* (September, 1930), but have here modified some of the views expressed in that paper.

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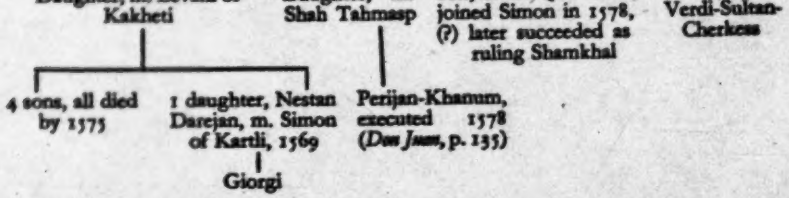
or was murdered, as in von Hammer's and Malcolm's sources, by the mother of Haydar, an attempt was made on the night of his death by the chief of the Ustajlu tribe with the Georgian adventurers who were the blood-relations of the young prince, to make Haydar Shah.

(4) The opposing faction reacted quickly. They had an ally in the harim, Perijan-Khanum (" the little fairy lady "), a daughter of Tahmasp by a " Cherkess " princess. According to Don Juan (p. 130) the Shamkhal was her uncle ; von Hammer is in agreement with this, although Malcolm calls him her " brother ".

There are several " Shamkhals " referred to by different writers on this period, and they cannot all have been the reigning Shamkhal (of Tarku) in Daghestan. Of this family, the first that we can identify is the Shamkhal Kara-Musal (Brosset's " Genealogical Tree of Kakheti ") whose daughter, in 1529, became the unhallowed consort of King Levan II of Kakheti. If Kara-Musal was the reigning Shamkhal in 1576, he would have been between 80 and 90, but he may have been " the old Prince Shamkhal " of Don Juan. At any rate the reigning Shamkhal was in Daghestan during the campaign of Lala Mustafa in Georgia in the summer of 1578, and on October 5 of that year both the Shamkhal and his brother Burhan-Melikeddin made their submission to the Turks (von Hammer, II, 91 ; cf. also *Don Juan*, p. 148). During the same winter, however, while Uzdemir-Osman Pasha at Derbend was celebrating his marriage with the Shamkhal's daughter, he professed to have discovered that his father-in-law was plotting with the Persians and had the old man executed (von Hammer, VII, 97, and *Don Juan*, p. 153). The Shamkhal's son, Imam-Quli-Khan, who had held a command in the Persian army at Chaldir (Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 457), then joined Simon of Kartli who was blockading Tiflis (von Hammer, VII, 91 and 97 ; *Don Juan*, pp. 140, 154–5, note 6, and Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 415, note 4). It would appear then that the Shamkhal's line was as follows :


Shamkhal Kara-Musal, executed in 1578
A brother, Burhan-Melikeddin (alive in 1578)
Daughter, m. Levani of Kakheti
Daughter, m. Shah Tahmasp
Son, Imam-Quli-Khan, joined Simon in 1578, (?) later succeeded as ruling Shamkhal
Son (?) Shah-Verdi-Sultan-Cherkess
4 sons, all died by 1575
1 daughter, Nestan Darejan, m. Simon of Kartli, 1569
Perijan-Khanum, executed 1578 (Don Juan, p. 135)
Giorgi

The identity of the Shamkhal who was active in Kazvin on the death of Shah Tahmasp, who was the uncle of Perijan-Khanum, and who, according to Malcolm's sources, was executed with her on the accession of Khuda-banda, is not clear. Don Juan, who persists in calling both " Christians " and " Georgian noblemen ", distinguishes between the reigning Shamkhal and the intriguer in Kazvin. Yet the other sources are clear that the latter was a " Cherkess " prince. He cannot have been Burhan-Melikeddin nor Imam-Quli-Khan, who both survived the death of Perijan-Khanum. He can only have been another son of the reigning Shamkhal and a brother of Imam-Quli-Khan. I think that he may be

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identified as a certain Shah-Verdi-Sultan-Cherkess or Sultan-Shamkhal, who is mentioned only by Iskander Munji, and who as governor of Shaki in 1568 took part in the operations against Simon of Kartli (cf. Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 454; cf. also p. 33). This Shah-Verdi-Sultan-Cherkess is confused with Shah-Verdi-Sultan-Ziad-oghlu-Kajar, who was *beglar-beg* of Ganja in 1556 (Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 30–1), was defeated by the Georgians at Garisi in 1558 (*ibid.*, and pp. 349–50), defeated Simon I at Dzegwi in 1561 (*ibid.*, pp. 153 *et sqq.*) and led the expedition in which the other Shah-Verdi took part in 1568. Shah-Verdi, the Kajar, took refuge with Alexander of Kakheti in 1579, during the campaign of Simon in Kartli, and was delivered by Alexander to the Turks (cf. *Chronique Géorgienne*, p. 21). Shah-Verdi-Sultan-Cherkess does not appear again after 1570. I think that he was another son of the old Shamkhal, a brother of Imam-Quli-Khan and the uncle in Kazvin of Perijan-Khanum.

(5) When the "Shamkhal" and Perijan-Khanum murdered Haydar and installed Ismail, the rival faction fled from Kazvin with the two sons of Tahmasp by "a Christian princess of Georgia"—Mustafa and Imam-Quli (von Hammer, VII, 72). Ismail, however, caused the death of all his brothers, with the exception of Muhammad Khuda-banda.

(6) When Ismail died in September–November (?) 1578 and Khuda-banda became Shah, Perijan-Khanum and her uncle "Shamkhal", identifiable with our Shah-Verdi-Sultan-Cherkess or Shamkhal, were executed. The Georgian faction were behind Khuda-banda, and Tahmasp's dowager, the daughter of Shaliqashvili, was in the ascendant. But the former allies of her faction, Da'ud Khan in Kartli and Alexander in Kakheti, were intriguing with the Turks. She therefore turned to Simon, who as an ally of the Shamkhal's party had already been set at liberty by Ismail. Simon had his own interests and willingly accepted her favour.

(7) There is also a certain Isa Khan, whom Don Juan (p. 129) mentions as a supporter of Haydar. Le Strange identifies him with Zaal, the Georgian noble mentioned by von Hammer, the Zalchan of Minadoi and Knolles. But I am inclined to see in Isa, Yésé, a younger son of Levani and full brother of Alexander of Kakheti (Brosset, *H. de la G.*, II, i, 153). According to Iskander Munji, this Isa Khan was imprisoned together with Simon at Alamut, and was liberated with him by Shah Ismail (*ibid.*, p. 455). I think that here he is confusing him with Archili, son of Wakhtangi, Prince of Mukhrani (cf. *ibid.*, p. 34, "Ismail made King Simon come, and brought Archili also from Shiraz").

On the accession of Khuda-banda, Isa Khan was certainly in favour. He was given the daughter of Sam-Mirza, a brother of Tahmasp, in marriage, and was made governor of Shaki (*ibid.*, p. 456), but before very long he had to take flight before the army of Lala Mustafa. He died soon afterwards (Brosset's "Genealogical Tree of Kakheti", *ibid.*).

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Dr. Radde,[7] "you are convinced that neither in their head-form, their physiognomy, nor their stature do they show anything strikingly typical. But, like the Georgians of Megrelia, they represent a mixed people."

On the other hand, one of the best explorers of the mountain regions of the Caucasus, the German alpinist, G. Merzbacher,[8] disagrees at the outset with the current opinion that the Svans represent a mixed people. He maintains the existence of a clear specific type among the Svans, making them easily discernible among the other groups of the Georgian nation. Later, however, he admits differences in physical types in every Svan community, seeing its cause in endogamy. He writes: "Dass man aber in jeder besonderen Gemeinde einen etwas anderen Typus ausgebildet vorfindet is durch innerheirat erklert."

According to the opinion of D. Z. Bakradze,[9] the Svans retain the physical traits of the Georgian mountaineers—the Mthiuls, the Khevsurs, and Pshavs—with the facial expression of the inhabitants of Southern Svanetia, much softer than those of the northern part of the country.

Concerning these views of the learned author, we must note that this group of Georgian Highlanders shows by no means a specific physical type, which fact is confirmed by every investigator and traveler who has come in contact with these people.

Drastic and contrary views have been expressed, especially concerning the origin of the Khevsurs, who attracted the attention of investigators by their habits of dress—the coat of mail with crosses on their garments, their arms, their manner of living, and the differences in their physical features. The current opinion in times past was to see in them the descendants of the Crusaders who, it was supposed, were driven out of Palestine after their defeat and found refuge and safety in the inaccessible mountain regions of the Caucasus. At first this theory was brought into literature by the Russian writer, A. L. Zisserman. Taking into consideration the peculiar dress of the Khevsurs—their coat of

[7] Radde: b, 117.
[8] Merzbacher: I, 356.
[9] Bakradze: a, 39.

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mail with the signs of the cross and the arms—especially the sabres with the inscriptions: *Solingen, Vivat Husar, Vivat Stephen Batory, Gloria Dei,* etc., Zisserman expresses in his book[10] the opinion of the possible origin of the Khevsurs from the Crusaders who found their refuge, as he thinks, in the secluded mountains of the Caucasus and intermarried with the women of the neighboring tribes and were joined by many fugitives from the other peoples of the country.

The opinions expressed by Mr. Zisserman were followed by representatives of other nations. The French investigators saw in the Georgian Khevsurs the descendants of French ancestors; the Germans, of the Germans; and the Russians, of the Russians.

Thus, for example, the French traveler, M. Taitbout de Marigny, regards the Khevsurs as the descendants of the French Crusaders, who, as he erroneously asserts, had brought Christianity to the pagan peoples of the Caucasus, an opinion which exposes his ignorance of the history of the country. As convincing "proof" of his opinion, he brings out the custom of the Khevsurs of wearing signs of the cross on their dresses, which, as he thinks, represents the crosses of the Sacred Order of Malta. Furthermore, he points out what he considers to be the presence of French family names among the Khevsurs, such as Devilete and Guillot. "On n'a, je crois, rien de très positif," writes M. Taitbout de Marigny,[11] "sur l'epoque où la christianisme fut introduit dans le Caucase et quels furent ceux qui le prêchèrent a ces peuples idolâtres. Une opinion assez commune attribue cette espèce d'apostolat à des Croisés échappés aux malheurs de leurs expeditions dans la Terre Sainte. La petite peuplade de Khevsur, située dans le Caucase auprès des Ossétiniens, porte sur ses habits des croix de Malte en drap rouge et sur ses boucliers de fer, elle en a de peints de la même couleur. L'on remarque aussi chez elle des noms français: tels que Devilete, Guillot."

On the other hand, the German investigator, N. A. Busch, is convinced that among the ancestors of the Khevsurs were also the German Crusaders. Discussing at first the opinion of A. L.

[10] Zisserman: 190, 208.
[11] Taitbout de Marigny: A, 73.

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Zisserman concerning this question, he adds:[12] "Ich moechte noch weiter gehen und annehmen dass unter den Vohrfahren der chewsuren Deutsche gewesen sind, etwa die Nachkommen der Kreuzfaehrer. . . ." In confirmation of his opinion the author sees not only the knightly arms, but also: (1) the presence among the Khevsurs of tall blond men; (2) the veneration of the cross with manifestations reminiscent of Catholic usages; (3) the sacred beer; and (4) the silver cups with engraved Gothic buildings on them.

Analyzing the validity of the four main points brought out by the author in support of his opinion concerning the presence of German ancestry among the Khevsurs, we bring up for discussion the fourth point, which may appear to be the most convincing, that is, the preparation and use of beer by the Khevsurs.

That the Khevsurs brew beer, consume it in large quantities, and even regard it as a sacred beverage, is quite true; and that the Germans are also a beer-drinking people is also a known fact; but this circumstance cannot be used, as Mr. Busch thinks, as an indication of the possible relation of the Khevsurs and Germans to each other, because beer-brewing was known to and practiced by the ancient peoples of Asia Minor—the Sumerians and Akkadians[13]—thousands of years ago. There were three different sorts and qualities of beer known in the ancient world: the black beer, called *bilittu;* the beer of middle quality; and the beer mixed with water as the lowest quality.

From Babylonia the preparation of beer was transmitted to Egypt, where it was similarly made from barley, of which "a large quantity must have been grown; for barley bread was much in request, and the grain was also malted and beer brewed from it."[14] In addition to the method of preparing beer, it is also known that the most popular method of drinking beer among the Babylonians, Hittites, and other ancient peoples of Asia Minor was to suck the beverage with hollow reeds.[15] On many Babylonian and

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[12] Busch: 224.
[13] Hrozny.
[14] Rawlinson: I, 83.
[15] Meyer: 55-6.

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114 174 Hittite cylinder-stamps are depicted sitting men who are drinking beer in this manner from a jar placed between them. The same custom was observed by Xenophon among the ancient Armenians. So that if the Georgian Khevsurs borrowed the knowledge of beer-brewing at all it was from the ancient peoples of Asia Minor and not from the Germans of Europe.

Especially peculiar are the views of the celebrated Russian archeologist, the Countess P. S. Uvarov,[16] who visited the country of the Khevsurs in the summer of 1890 and saw, as she thinks, in the Khevsurs the "real" and "unquestionable" representatives of the historically famous *Cossacks* of the Dniepr River—the *Zaparojtsi*.

"Many times I was told," writes the author,[17] "that the Khevsurs are the descendants of the Crusaders and that the principal adornment of their dress is the cross. I think that such supposition is the result of sheer fantasy, used, to our regret, very often during the scientific investigations of the antiquities of the Caucasus, its peoples and ethnology. That the Khevsurs are not Georgians and are not of Georgian origin is for me an irrefutable fact; but in the meantime to see in them the descendants of the Crusaders is very difficult, because nothing confirms this opinion; neither the type of Khevsurs nor their character or customs. And as for their use at the present time of armor plate and the sign of the cross in their ornaments, the first is probably borrowed, not from the West but from the East (the elbow-pieces are of Oriental origin), and the second is used in the same manner as by the peoples of Slavonic origin. The type of the Khevsur is rather [302] reminiscent of a *Zaparojets* or a Scythian and Sarmatian from the Trojanic column: the same boots, the same trousers, the straight broadsword, the thick hair on the head cut in round, circular form, the same moustaches, the short beards, the virile expression of the faces, and the tress of hair of the ancient *Zaparojtsi*."

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[16] Uvarov: 232-3.
[17] *Ibid.*

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A few pages further on[18] the author adds: "I do not know if my supposition is correct, but it seems to me that the Khevsurs in Guli, Gudani and Khakhmathi,[19] representing the central part of Khevsuria, are better, stronger, finer and nearer to the type of the *Zaparojtsi*—Scythians than the inhabitants of Shatil, among whom there seems to be noticeable another type and character."

Concerning this passage, in which the former President of the Russian Archeological Society expresses her regret at the employment of fantasy by many investigators of the Caucasus and then brings out her own ideas regarding the origin of the Khevsurs, we may mention that her own theory, to our great regret, is also a work of fantasy and imagination. That the Khevsurs represent a part of the Georgian nation, we are convinced by many factors, such as their language, customs, religion, folk-lore, etc. What we intend at present to discuss is one of the facts brought out by the author in support of her theory of the origin of the Khevsurs from Slavonic stock; that is, the custom among the Khevsurs of cutting or shaving off the hair on the head and leaving only a tress on the crown.

That this custom was practiced by the Cossacks of the Dniepr River, called *Zaparojtsi*, is clear, but there is also proof that it was practiced by the Pshavs, neighbors of the Khevsurs, by the Circassians in the northwestern part of the country, and even on the other (southern) side of the Caucasian ridge—in Transcaucasia, by the Udins of Vartashen, and also to the south beyond the Caucasus—in Asia Minor, where thousands of years ago the powerful people of the Hittites practiced the same custom.

The custom among the Khevsurs of wearing a tress of hair has been observed by many investigators who have visited these people. Thus Dr. G. Radde writes in his book:[20] "Alle Maenner waren rasirt viele rasiren den Kopf ganz, andere lassen auf dem Scheitel einen langen Schopf (*Kotschori*) stehen, noch andere lassen in wilder Unordnung das Haar wachsen."

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[18] *Ibid.*: 236.
[19] Names of villages.
[20] Radde: C, 76.

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The above passage is given in the French translation by E. Chautre in his work, *Recherches Anthropologiques dans le Caucase.*[21]

The custom among the Khevsurs of wearing a tress of hair on the head, called in the Georgian, *kotchori*, was formerly observed also by the Pshavs, according to A. L. Zisserman.[22] The same custom prevailed among the Circassians in the northwest and the Udins in the south. "Among some of the old men," writes A. Arutinov about the Udins,[23] "we noticed the very peculiar fashion of wearing hair on the head. They cut their hair very short or even shave the whole head, leaving on the top, near the nape of the neck (occiput), a tress of hair approximately from seven to ten centimeters in length, and sometimes reaching 195 or even 250 centimeters."

"The men crop the hair of the head quite short," writes J. V. Klaproth[24] about the Circassians, "leaving only a lock the length of a finger hanging down from the crown, which is called *haidar*." The same custom was observed among the Circassians by the French traveler, M. Taitbout de Marigny, who, in describing the life of the Circassians, writes: "Ils se rasent la tête, comme les Turcs, ne laissant qu'une petite touffé au sommet."[25]

In addition to the above-named peoples of the Caucasus, the ancient Hittites of Asia Minor also practiced this custom. Professor Eduard Meyer describes this custom of the Hittites as it is pictured on the Egyptian stone relief in Karnak, where an Egyptian prince leads the procession of the ambassadors from Asia, among whom the Hittites may be easily recognized by their peculiar facial traits and the characteristic tress of hair (pig tail).

"Die chetiter . . . tragen niemals einen Bart," writes Professor Meyer,[26] "und ihr Haar liegt in langer, zopfartiger Straehne. . . ." Especially characteristic is the hairdress of one Hittite soldier figured in the battle of Kadesh, who "hat das Haupthaar bis auf

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[21] Chantre: IV, 44-5.
[22] Zisserman: 228.
[23] Arutinov: 26.
[24] Klaproth: a, 322.
[25] Taitbout de Marigny: b, 272.
[26] Meyer: 12.

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einen vom Hinterkopf herabhaengenden, dem chinesischen gleichen Zopf abrasiert. . . ."[27]

From the evidence of the various investigators which we have presented above, it may be seen that if we accept the opinion of Countess Uvarov that the Khevsurs of the Caucasus originated from the Cossacks of the Dniepr, we might logically assume that the Circassians, the Udins and the Hittites are also of Slavonic origin, or that all these peoples, including the Hittites, borrowed this custom from the Cossacks of the Dniepr (*Zaparojtsi*)—which, in short, is a paradox.

We think that this custom existed among the Khevsurs for many centuries before the *Zaparojtsi* made their appearance in history. In the meantime the fact of the presence of this custom among other peoples of the Caucasus besides the Khevsurs shows their possible relation with each other and points to Asia Minor as the place of origin of this custom, whence it was brought to the Caucasus. Later, in the new era, this custom could have been borrowed by the Cossacks of the Dniepr from the Circassians, who occupied the northern slopes of the Caucasian ridge and controlled the adjacent territory around the Sea of Azov and the Russian steppe,[28] whence they were gradually forced out by the newcomers into the mountains of the Caucasus, where they resided until the Russian conquest in the second half of the nineteenth century. This conquest resulted in the mass emigration of the Circassians into the lands then occupied by the Turks.

To the above mentioned factors revealing the heterogeneity in the composition of the social groups among the Georgian Highlanders must be added the different ways and manners of adoption as practiced by the people which made relatively easy access for foreign elements into the communities, where they were admitted as full-fledged members and in time were gradually absorbed and assimilated.

There are different ways and manners of adoption. A person can be adopted either by the whole community as such, or he may be adopted by a private family or a private person. When the

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[27] *Ibid.*, 13.
[28] Klaproth: a, 312.

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177 is going on. Life in the illiterate communities as in the civilized societies is not static but dynamic; only the tempo, the speed of change, is different—slow, hard to notice in the majority of cases in the former group, and more prompt and manifest in the latter. Even in the most secluded glacier regions of the Caucasus the people do not live in complete isolation but are in contact with other communities and peoples, creating the above-mentioned heterogeneity of physical traits and the composition of the social organization. But in spite of all this the unity of the social group among the Georgian Highlanders is unshaken and solidly established, thanks to the religious beliefs of the people and their conviction of the existence of spirits and a life beyond the grave as manifested in the cult of the dead. These are factors which replace the lack of real blood relationship and keep firmly together the different component parts as one homogeneous unit.

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The practice of the custom of adoption in its various forms 114
shows the error of the views of many investigators who regard the mountaineers of the Caucasus, living remote from other peoples, as illustrating the evolutionary principle of social development; and who regard the communities of the Highlanders of the Caucasus as social organizations in their "embryonic state," thus conserved by their seclusion and representing "museums" of the past which are patiently awaiting the investigations of learned anthropologists and ethnologists. For example, E. D. Morgan expresses his views in a work read before the British Asiatic Society on March 19, 1888, and later printed in complete form in the Journal of the Society. Mr. Morgan's work is based on the well-known work of Professor M. Kovalevsky dealing with the customary law among the Ossets of the Caucasus, a work which was written in Russian and later edited in French translation.[30] Expounding his views, Morgan writes:[31] "In the highlands of the Caucasus, as in other mountainous regions, remnants of Aryan tribes have found it possible to subsist, though not in large numbers, preserving their independence and perpetuating customs and traditions in the highest degree interesting to the historian and philosopher. To these reference must be made if we would supply the missing link in the history of civilization, to these we should turn in order to trace the earliest dawn of juridical notions—the embryology of law."

Taking into consideration the views just cited, and turning to 114
the conditions as they really exist in the Caucasus, we see from [408]
the different methods of adoption and the heterogeneity of physical 177
traits and origin, as above stated, that the social groups among the Georgian Highlanders were not secluded and closed to the stranger. The social units, whether separate communities or the whole people, are not "museums" with old, unchanging relics, but on the contrary represent, as Professor A. M. Ladishevski remarks in his work dealing with the social organization of the Circassians,[32] "laboratories" where the active work of change and transformation

[30] Kovalevsky, b.
[31] Morgan: 364-5.
[32] Ladishevski.
1 [see pp15-16, ref, 116 - Analyst]

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CHAPTER III

Religious Beliefs and Practices

The religion of the Georgian Highlanders penetrates the very thought and actions of each individual as well as the whole community of which he is a member. Obedience to the custom is vital for the well-being not only of the person involved but of his whole community. The social group is the guaranty, the defender and the guardian of every member. The obedience to the custom has a religious obligation; its disobedience is a religious sanction.

We are not attempting at present to go into the analysis of the religious beliefs and ceremonies in detail or try to explain their meaning or origin, although it offers a very interesting field of research. Only by way of information we will point out that the special works representing the scientific investigation of the primitive religion of the peoples of the Caucasus, and particularly of the Georgians, are few; and we may cite the words of the Georgian scholar, Professor M. Tseretheli[1] as clearly illustrating the situation "that Georgian paganism represents such a complicated subject for research, that science still has much to do to unravel its tangled elements." If the special works are few, the information of the general character treating the primitive religion in the Caucasus is abundant, but here also the difficulty is present that they are either scattered in different essays and monographs of ethnological, geographical, archeological, historical and general descriptive character, or they are written in languages of little access to the European reader, such as Georgian and Russian.

From the few leading works dealing specially with the primitive religion of the Georgians we have to mention as examples the works of O. V. von Wesendonk,[2] N. Marr,[3] M. Tseretheli,[4] and Javakhishvili.[5]

[1] Tseretheli: b.
[2] Wesendonk: a, b.
[3] Marr: a.
[4] Tseretheli: b.
[5] Javakhishvili: b.

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Professor I. Javakhishvili of Tiflis, a well-known Georgian historian,[6] gives us a picture of the religion of pagan Georgia in the second chapter of his standard work, *A History of the Georgian Nation* (Vol. 1, Ch. 2, pp. 31-137), which is a result of his research into the customs and usages, tales and sagas of the Georgians.

Our aim at present is simply to review in outline form the religion of the Georgian Highlanders, principally in connection with the role which it plays in their legal life.

Surveying the religious institutions and beliefs of the Georgian Highlanders, we notice a marked mixture of Christianity and primitive beliefs. Besides the symptoms of Christian teaching, such as the names of saints, the belief in angels, the conduct of various Christian ceremonies although in distorted form, they believe in the supernatural, not as the Christian Church understands and interprets it as one identity, but as many spirits endowed with anthropomorphic qualities. The supernatural powers, the spirits, are discriminated by the people, not only according to their power, but also according to their inclinations. Some of them are regarded as the protectors of hunters, others of herds and husbandry, and a third group are the benefactors of thieves, robbers, etc. The people believe that these "spiritual beings are held to affect or control events in the material world and man's life here and hereafter."[7] Besides these spirits representing supernatural beings, the Georgian Highlanders believe also in the existence of spirits representing "souls of individual creatures, capable of continued existence after the death or destruction of the body."[8]

The religious beliefs of the Khevsurs, Pshavs and Tushes are almost identical, conserved in purest and most complete form by the Pshavs and the Khevsurs, and in a state of change and transformation by the Tushes, who are gradually giving up their old customs under the influence of their cultured kinsmen of the Lowlands. The religion of the Svans is similar in the principal things, but different in details from that of the Khevsurs, Pshavs and Tushes.

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[6] Tseretheli: b, 28.
[7] Tyler: I, 426.
[8] *Ibid.*